5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

minimised alienation of Papuan land and controlled recruitment, payment of wages and the employer's treatment of labour.

No money was devoted to public education under Murray's rule. Social improvement programmes were largely confined to village inspections, at which law and order, hygiene and road maintenance were imposed by patrol officers under penalty of prison sentences. Hamlets were consolidated into larger villages, as these were easier to patrol. Villages were ordered, for their own good, to plant commercial tree crops.[10] Education was entrusted to the missions; health services were left either to missions or to employers. In 1919, a head tax was imposed upon the Papuans.

By a gentlemen's agreement between the Protestant denominations, a specified portion of the Territory of Papua was given to the exclusive pastoral care of each of them. North-East Papua, from Cape Dulcie to the German border, became Anglican territory. The centre of the mission was at Dogura, Milne Bay District, where the first Bishop of New Guinea, Montagu Stone-Wigg, established his court in 1898. That year, missionaries were sent to set up stations all along the coast of the diocese, at Cape Vogel, Manigela, Gona and as far north as the Mambare River.

The New Guinea Mission soon set about adding to its staff by building one more advanced school at Dogura, to which it sent the most promising students from the village schools, in the hope that these could be trained as priests and deacons. The Mission thus offered responsibility to Papuans very much earlier than any other White institution in the Territory. In 1967, the bishop of the Northern District diocese, as well as a number of priests and virtually all mission teachers were Papuans, often drawn from the Northern District tribes.

Experience with miners, government and mission in the Northern District led rather quickly to the emergence of adjustment cults, notably the Baigona and Taro Cults[11] arising respectively in 1912 and 1914. Though Worsley (1957: Ch. III) classifies them as non-millenarian, he recognises them as having been a political threat to the Australian authorities. Doctrines of unity, co-operation and comradeship between formerly hostile tribes were central to the Taro Cult. Cult leaders dissociated themselves from the Christian missions and claimed a special bond with Jesus Christ. Although the Northern District never developed cargo cults of the classical type, even in later years, there is a constant undercurrent of what one may call millennial thinking, which is of great concern to the government even today.

The Second World War. A new era in Papuan history began when the Japanese invaded New Guinea in January 1942 and, in June 1942, landed at Buna, in the Northern District, with the intention of crossing the Owen Stanley Range and taking Port Moresby. They were checked at the Kokoda Trail by Australian and American forces who by January 1943 drove them from the Paupan mainland. According to Lucy Mair the Japanese were not unpopular until they began to plunder gardens and round up pigs, a course to which they resorted when the Allied navy blocked their supply lines (Mair 1948: 199). The Orokaiva mostly took to the bush where they lived in temporary shelters and grew German taro.

Army administration introduced a new tone in human relations. Australian troops, in their dealings with Papuans, applied egalitarian attitudes prevalent in

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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4 Orokaiva: *tauga*; botanical: *cycas media*; Orokaiva: *puga*; botanical: *terminalia okaria*. There are two varieties of breadfruit, called *oga* and *eumba*. They are both somewhat unusual but I failed, in spite of sending samples, to obtain indentifications.

5 Details of garden production are given in Table II/3. Rainfall at Sivepe and Inonda is shown in Rimoldi 1966:109; Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:100.

6 A plan of a contemporary Orokaiva house is shown in Fig. 3. Recent changes in house design, house construction and domestic amenities are summarised in Table II/4.

7 See Tables II/5 and II/6. Williams' data are taken from an unpublished manuscript and appeared first in Schwimmer 1969:226. I have discussed the Orokaiva division of labour in more detail in Schwimmer 1969: 145–50 and explained the apparent discrepancies between Williams' table and Waddell's and Krinks' statistics.

8 Crocombe and Hogbin (1963) provide a list of prices prevailing in this trade. They report that there is still some trade in shell ornaments from the coast and in feathers for head dresses from the mountains. Informants at Eroro, on the coast near Buna, gave me details of their traditional trade with Managalasi of the nearby mountains. A Sivepe man who has hunting rights to land near Ajoro goes there to hunt birds and sell the feathers. His chances of finding any of the more valuable birds near Sivepe are remote. The difference in Sivepe and Inonda patterns (i.e. the foothills and the alluvial plains) appears from the data in Table II/7. It will be seen that Sivepe stock is to a far greater extent inherited, whereas Inonda stock is to a far greater extent acquired through brideprice (value $13), barter (value $21.60) and other exchanges (value $13.70).

9 Dr. Waddell has provided a detailed statistical table of the geographical distribution of subsistence produce (Waddell and Krinks 1968:218). This table provides clear and detailed information on the geographical range of the Sivepe exchange network. A full descriptive account may be found in Schwimmer 1969: 41–69.

10 An interesting picture of this period of Orokaiva history is drawn in Beaver, 1916.

11 Full information on these cults will be found in Chinnery and Haddon (1917) and Williams (1928). If has escaped previous commentators that Bia, who started the taro cult, was employed for some years by Monckton, and participated in various punitive enterprises with an alacrity most pleasing to his master. He was described in Monckton's books in rather revealing detail (e.g. 1921: 185, 268, 269, 295, 308; 1922: 10, 13, 65, 136, 172, 214, 216). For the present relationship between the Orokaiva and the missions, see Schwimmer 1969; 123–33.

12 The general subject of Orokaiva economic development since 1951 is very fully covered in numerous bulletins published by the New Guinea Research Unit from 1963 to the present, and also in Schwimmer 1969. A general indication of the investments in socio-economic development is given by a table of public expenditure in the territory of Papua for the years ended 30 June 1961 to 1965 (Commonwealth of Australia: *Annual Report of the Territory of Papua for the period 1 July 1964 to 30 June 1965*, 179). The growing emphasis on educational services is perhaps the most notable aspect. Table II/8 indicates the pattern of school attendance. Table II/9 summarises the activities of the Higaturu Local Government Council; roads, water supplies and clinics are perhaps the projects most relevant to development.

13 The three villages have been sketched in figures 4, 5 and 6. Education and occupational experience at Sivepe and Hohorita are analysed in Tables II/10 and II/11.

342 required to build the short pig fence protecting the average
[476] garden. A house is replaced by intermittent work on construction over a period of several weeks.

476 Co-operation with households outside the expanded family is usually on the basis of assistance given for a day or two by an individual to fulfil some kinship obligation or to help a neighbour who is sick. Any assistance a man receives usually comes from individual kin rather than a working party composed of
614 his agnates. This may be because Sivepe is one example of the type of Melanesian societies where clans or their segments 'are small and communities composed of several, permitting local endogamy' and co-operation with local kin and affines dilutes the strength of the unilineal group (Brown 1962:68).

461 The work patterns we recorded are summarized in Table 4. The
[164] figure for the time taken up by sickness (including caring for the sick) was affected by the facts that during the survey 2 householders suffered from lengthy bouts of malaria (1 was hospitalized) and that some women needed to attend to their sick children; the figure for travel was affected by the absence for several days of 1 householder and his wife who walked to Popondetta where they had business at the District Office.

132 The extreme weather conditions experienced during our survey -
461 26.3 inches of rain in 1 month with 25 wet days followed by a long period without rain - restricted both the range of subsistence activities possible and to some extent the time available for them. The amount of time devoted to subsistence and cash crop gardening
[797] was appreciably lower during each of 3 weeks which were marked by the celebration of non-traditional festivals. Several villagers were among a group of 100 people baptized as Anglicans at Sasembata Mission.

795 During the week this occurred the women of the sample devoted
461 more time to preparing for and attending the ritual than to economic activities. The men also spent more time than usual in the village, several of them building or repairing houses. Most of the men spent several hours watching the baptism itself. Although the baptism differed from the life-crises traditionally celebrated by feasts, a number of small independent gatherings to mark the transition were held afterwards in the village by the close kin of those baptized.

796 Religious observances were accorded a little more time during
461 the week of Christmas than in normal weeks. There were no festivities within the village to mark the occasion and church attendance was the only organized Christmas celebration except for ceremonial at Saiho which a few Sivepe people attended on
461 Boxing Day. Several people were disabled by attacks of malaria at the time but few of the others considered these 2 days as

Introduction

121 The New Guinea Research Unit of the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University invited the author to evaluate the cognitive ability of groups of subjects who were being studied as part of a larger project. These were the Orokaiva people of the Northern District of Papua. Other related studies in the area had been or were being carried out at Inonda (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963), Gona (Dakeyne 1965), Sivepe and Borugasusu (Rimoldi 1966a, b), Ongoho (Crocombe 1964), the ex-servicemen's settlement scheme (Cheetham 1963) and in expatriate plantations (Howlett 1965).

131 197 The Orokaiva live on the Popondetta plain and in the Mt Lamington foothills, and share mutually understandable languages. They have been described by Crocombe (1963) as follows:

105 [161] [619] [423] [614] The Orokaiva people number roughly 26,000 and are divided into about twelve tribes. The tribes are very loose units and recognise no single leader and before European contact, warfare within the tribe was not uncommon. ...there are no land rights at a tribal level. Each tribe is divided into a number of named clans. A clan is seldom localised, and usually it is divided into a number of sub-clans which are dispersed over various parts of the tribal territory. Each sub-clan holds rights over a specific area or areas of land.

177 795 There has been European contact of some form over a long period. The people are perhaps best known by the work of Williams (1928 and 1930) in which he describes the earlier cult movements and the attempts to master and control new contact situations. Two of these were the cult of the Baigona men and the Taro cult. The former was concerned with healing and sorcery through a type of priest who was in communication with the spirits of the dead and now resident in various reptiles, particularly the snake. The latter was evidenced in sorcery through a priest who was possessed with the spirit of the Taro. Violent dancing or ecstatic movements often accompanied by a trance were not unlike the dance of St Vitus or St John which swept Europe in the fourteenth century (Sargant 1957).

648 177 The initial Japanese occupation of Papua took place in the Northern District as the Japanese marched towards Port Moresby via

worked for eight. This became an important basis for resentment and discontent among the workers.

The arrival of Rev. Clint in 1948 ushered in a period of dynamic growth in the co-operative movement in the district. He had a deep interest in co-operatives, and had been associated in Australia with the Christian Socialist Movement. He was specifically recruited by the mission to organize agricultural co-operatives and within three weeks of his arrival he had held meetings with the members of three of the co-operatives and had discussed future development with the District Agricultural Officer, Mr Cockshott. In mid-May he commenced a weekly co-operatives instruction class covering co-operative leadership, history of co-operatives, basic techniques, book-keeping and English.

Rev. Clint was insistent that Christian ritual be associated with co-operative action. Educational and committee meetings always closed with a special prayer, there were church services at which tools were blessed and newly planted seed was blessed in the gardens. This aspect of the co-operative movement was regarded with some apprehension by Administration officers who felt that it could be misunderstood by the Papuans and possibly lead to the development of a cargo cult. There was some evidence to suggest that a cult did in fact begin. Money was collected surreptitiously (its disposal was never explained), and in the opinions of some observers there was a belief among some participants that the mere formation of co-operatives and the routine performance of the work required would magically raise the Papuans in a short time to the status of Europeans. On the other hand, there was evidence to support the view that the people in their desire to improve their economic position saw co-operatives as the channel and adopted the idea wholeheartedly. There is something of both these views in the statement of the ex-chairman, who said: 'We wanted to be like other civilized countries and earn money by working together.'

In November 1948 there were 25 acres under dry rice at Gona No.1, and 10 acres under taro, 6 acres of rice and one acre of peanuts at Gona No.2. Similar areas were under crop at the other co-operatives. The first harvest in early 1949 appears to have been a success. On his return from leave in March 1949, Rev. Benson spoke of 'barns and storehouses bursting with rice, people happily busy...true comradeship and Christian co-operation'.

In August 1949 the first four co-operatives in the Territory were registered.[1] They were, in order: Yega, Gona, Garara and

[1] This registration was made under the terms of draft legislation. It was not confirmed by the Registrar of Co-operatives under the finally approved legislation, the Co-operative Societies Ordinance 1950.

563 More important was the encouragement given by the Chinese
439 store to the development of Papuan-owned trade stores in the villages.
443 Village trade stores have existed in the Northern District for a long time but traditionally they were built by planters who sought extra income by selling trade goods to their employees and villagers in the vicinity. The shopkeeper was a closely-supervised Papuan on wages. In 1966, I counted some 20 of these stores between Inonda and Sivepa. Fourteen of these were owned by various planters, but the other six were of the new type promoted by the Chinese trader. Here the owner of the store was Orokaiva and the Chinese supplied trade goods and transport, if needed, at some extra cost.

During the year I was in the field, it became the ambition of many villages to have their own trade store. In the Sasembata [554] area alone, at least four new ones were started. The arguments in favour of them were: that the village store might as well have the profits instead of these all going to the Europeans; that one would not need to walk so far to buy goods; that the village store would sell goods at all hours, instead of only during the day. There was a strong ideological motive as well, to be discussed later. The stores were an avenue, above all, to greater power. Inonda was served by a planter-owned trade store two miles from the village.

Hence, the role of the Chinese in the Northern District was a rather interesting one. It was they who opened to the Orokaiva the opportunity of trading. The Chinese, indeed, gave wholesale discounts to all these small shops and treated the traders without condescension. Every few weeks, the Chinese truck delivered supplies to the shops in the Sasembata area. It was then, too, that it collected coffee. The storekeepers also visited Popondetta to collect the supplies when they could, occasionally with the clandestine help of a government driver.

Section 8: Contact With the "Taupa"

177 In the previous sections I have sketched the network of
366 contacts characteristic of Sivepa village at the time of the eruption
368 and the present, and compared these with Inonda. The comparison cannot usefully be carried too far, as Inonda is much closer to Popondetta than Sivepa, while the small size of Inonda and its longer distance from even a minor educational, and medical centre and from a mission station introduces ecological elements reducing cultural contact. A general difference between the two places, resulting from these factors, is that the locale of contact for the people of Sivepa is most often the village, or a place only a mile or so from the village (the mission station, or Garoubi, or Sasembata village), the locale of contact for the Inonda people is 177 more often Popondetta. Another difference is that whereas Sivepa,
795

177 in its attitude to culture contact, is somewhat homogeneous, Inonda
795 is deeply split between a Christian and a Pagan faction, and it is the Christian faction which is involved in coffee growing, the cattle project, the government sponsored women's club and wage labour whereas outside contacts for the pagan faction are truly minimal.

177 The changes which have occurred in the pattern of outside
181 contacts in Sivepa between the eruption and the present all involved changes in ideology. This is true for the pattern of inter-village cooperation and the interaction with Papuan functionaries no less
[199] than for the trade-store movement. It is an ideology referred to by the Orokaiva as "iji eha," "the new day" and it carries with it an acceptance of Christianity, the objectives of the Local Government Councils and the tenets of economic development. This ideology is as readily expressed by the Christians of Inonda as it is by the people of Sivepa.

177 Not only is this ideology of European origin, but the new types of contact that are being made among Papuans can be traced back, in almost every instance, to white men's actions. Generally, the village man or woman has but a minimal direct contact with the white man and such direct contact as does occur is liable to involve a minimal communication of ideas. Because of the language barrier,
[191] an interpreter is, at the very least, required as intermediary between white man and Orokaiva. Simple, direct communications can be effectively made in Motu which most Orokaiva understand and which many Europeans speak to some extent. Modern circumstances, however, increasingly demand the communication of more complex messages than can be transmitted by that medium, as used at present. More commonly, Papuan members of formal organisations act as middlemen for more complex messages.

It seems best to describe at the outset the pattern as I observed it in Sivepa in 1966-7--the pattern in Inonda and other villages was very similar--and then compare this to the pattern of 1951 and the rather untypical situation in the evacuation camps.
[101] All white men are known by the collective appellation and reference term taupa, but the roles in which taupa are truly familiar to the Orokaiva are few. Most taupa are government servants, traders, missionaries, soldiers. In Sivepa the white government servants most frequently encountered were: the patrol officer, the agricultural officer, the magistrate, the advisory officer of the Higaturu council; higher officials stationed in Popondetta were mostly known by rumour. The head teacher of the local mission school and his wife were both taupa; everyone was familiar with taupa planters and storekeepers. An unusual and very highly respected taupa, indeed a man to whom one never heard the term taupa applied, so well liked was he, was the superintendent of the Saiho hospital who took part in the Christmas dance at Saiho in Orokaiva costume, together with his wife, and who was invited to village feasts at which he ate with